/295/ Preface

114 12 In the chapters to follow, I propose to publish part of the results obtained in the course of the expedition that I undertook in the Bolivian and Argentinian Chaco in my capacity as director of the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Tucumán.

114 [101] This expedition took place from February to June, 1929. Its itinerary was the following: Having left Tucumán, I went by railroad to La Quiaca where I stayed for several days, making observations on the more or less half-breed natives of the region. From La Quiaca I went to Tarija, where I remained longer than I might have wished because of the suspicions my trip raised at the time of the Paraguayan-Bolivian conflict.

114 101 103 After a 15-day stop I left Tarija to reach the Chiriguano toldería of the upper Pilcomayo. I crossed the village of Santa Ana, then the Abra del Cóndor, the Narvaez River, the post of San Diego, passed five kilometers from San Luis (Entre-Ríos) to stop at the Cuesta de San Simon, where I found the first Chiriguano. Once having crossed the Cuesta de San Simón I quickly reached the Salado River, then the Chiriguano villages of Timboy (Saladito). It was there that I made my best acquisitions of [126] pottery and where I collected the oldest objects. The inhabitants [178] of these rancherías, who live relatively far from the highway from Argentina to Santa Cruz, have preserved the traditions and culture of their ancestors better than their racial brothers have. From Saladito I reached the village of Itaiti and then Salado Grande, [361] in order /296/ to reach the Pilcomayo at the confluence with the Salado. There, the Chiriguano villages are large and numerous. The most interesting are those of Nawirenda, Ibopeytí, and Tumbáa.

After stopping for some time in this place, I continued my trip toward Huacaya and the mission of San Pascual de Boicovo.

In one day I went from Boicovo to Cuevo, going by way of the mission of Santa Rosa.

[199] [178] From Cuevo on I was in the mission of Ivu, which is without doubt the one where the old Chiriguano customs have undergone the fewest modifications.

/296 cont./

114 101 103 From Cuevo I left for the northwest toward the Parapiti River region. I crossed this river near Pipi. After stopping in that village, I followed an Indian path which led me to Caurarí, to the home of my good friend Captain Kamayayú. I spent a week with him and left him only to explore the whole Caipipendí valley, visiting all the Indian villages one after another. At Caipipendí itself I made fruitful excavations and collected interesting myths.

The limit of my trip toward the north was the little city of Charagua.

I devoted the last part of my trip to more or less long stays in the Franciscan missions of Tarairí, Tigüipa, Macharetí, and Ivo.

Before going back to Argentina I made an excursion into the Iglembé valley as far as the village of Masavi.

115 127 The last two weeks of my expedition were devoted to the study of the Chané Indians who live near Aguaray in the Salta Chaco (Argentine Republic).

Previously I had been obliged, for various reasons, to stop at Oran for a month. I took advantage of this to make collections among the Ashluslay Indians who come there for the sugar-cane harvest.

In this volume I shall publish only the results of my expedition which bring new facts and details to light. Therefore the chapters I devote to the Chiriguano must not be considered an exhaustive study of their culture, but simply as a contribution. Chiriguano culture has been the subject of four important works, two of which are by ethnographers of great authority (1). /297/

1. Nordenskiöld (2, 5, and 10) and Rivet (1) /the underlined numbers following an author's name refer to the boldface numbers in the bibliography/. Campana's monograph on the Chiriguano, which I shall often have occasion to cite, is only a recompilation and reorganization of the manuscript notes left by the Italian missionary, the Reverend Father Dominco Giannechini. This work is excellent in many respects. As for the book of the Reverend

/TSPI cont./

Father Bernardino de Nino. It is only a translation of Campana's article, filled out with copious borrowings from Cozzado's work. Nevertheless the Reverend Father Bernardino de Nino added many very interesting details to the texts that he reproduces, which make consultation of his Etnografía chiriguana indispensable.

My aim was to complete the work of my predecessors and to get together for the Museum of Tucumán a collection which would be truly representative of the last of the cultures which formerly flourished within the limits of the old gobernación of Tucumán. My Chiriguano collections, along with those collected by Nordenskiöld, are, I believe, the most complete ones from this region that exist in the world. They bear witness, I hope, to the richness of this area from an ethnographic point of view, a richness which has been left unexploited and which will disappear in a few years.

May these pages demonstrate that every culture is a whole complex, so varied, that no ethnographer can study all its details in the course of a single trip. It is not useless to go back where others have preceded you, for, whatever their merits may have been, the material cannot be exhausted in one time.

There remains the paying of a debt of gratitude by thanking Doctor J. B. Terán and Doctor J. Heller, who, as rector and vice-rector of the University of Tucumán, gave me the means to bring about this trip. The new rector of the University, Doctor J. Prebisch, granted me the sizable funds which publication of the results of this expedition required and supported constantly the Revue d'Ethnologie of my Institute. I am eager to make known to him here how grateful I am.

I wish to express my thanks again to all those who helped me in the course of my trips first and foremost the Franciscan missionaries who gave me generous hospitality and helped me as much as possible; my debt is particularly great to the Reverend Father Jacundo Ferrari, thanks to whom I was able to carry out without damage the transportation of my collections from the upper Pilcomayo to Cuevo; to Father Angriani who received me so frequently in his Ivo mission. Neither do I wish to forget Fathers

Lt Métraux--S E-S (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/1299/

First Part

Material Culture

To Eva who was my traveling companion.

Introduction

• 121

For anyone who wants to verify experimentally, if I may say so, the value of the methods which are being adopted in modern ethnography, for anyone who wishes to judge the factors which condition the formation and evolution of civilizations, there is no better field than the study of the Chiriguano Indians.

We know where they came from, the period when they formed a new nation, the populations with which they mingled or were in contact, the influences they underwent and their duration, and finally we are acquainted with the vicissitudes of their history: in a word, we can be present at the formation and development of this people from their origin to their present decline, an experience unique in South America, rare perhaps elsewhere, and in any case rich in instruction.

Adaptation to the environment, borrowing of new cultural elements, abandonment of traditions and techniques, somatic and linguistic changes, so many problems that the Chiriguano civilization poses and that the historical documents and the collections permit solving or at least clarifying.

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1778

Chiriguano culture is composed of elements of different origins, borrowed from tribes which had only a little in common with one another. It involves an old Guarani substratum, transformed and entirely renewed by the contribution of the Arawak culture of the Chané, which itself had been enriched and modified by the influence of the Andean populations of present-day southern Bolivia. A common environment and long proximity allowed many a technique and industry of the primitive Indians of the Chaco to be adopted and assimilated by the Chiriguano. The importance of this third component is minimal.

/299 cont./

177 178 An analysis of Chiriguano culture (see Nordenskiöld, 10, pp. 196-213) makes manifest the heterogeneity which the history of the tribe caused to be suspected a priori. The pottery, basketry, weapons, and furniture almost constantly present disparate characteristics in which are expressed this play of influences, this intermixture of races and ideas of which the present-day culture of the Chiriguano is the product.

/300/ The ethnographer feels all the more at ease in his analysis when at every step history confirms or invalidates the findings to which his comparative work leads him. Thus he walks on firm ground, and the results he has acquired in this particular domain will justify his method when he uses it to solve problems whose data are less complete.

181 The Chiriguano, in more than one respect, deserve to hold a preponderant place in the ethnography of South America. They have played an important role in the history of Bolivia, Paraguay, and Argentina; their civilization has been brilliant and has maintained itself intact almost until our time; besides, they are remarkably endowed from the point of view of character and intelligence. To these qualifications they add that of having built up their civilization, so to say, before our very eyes and of offering to science a field where it moves with some sureness.

In order to understand the point of view I have tried to put forward in this introduction, it is indispensable to know, in its main lines, the early history of these Indians.

Chapter I

000 Historical Outline of the Formation of the Chiriguano Nation

/Eight lines of poetry in Spanish, from Barco Centenera, La Argentina, pp. 185-186, are omitted in the translation./

121 175 My intention is not to recount the history of the Chiriguano from the 16th century to today insofar as we can know it from official documents and chronicles. This work has been done and generally well done (Corrado; Kersten, pp. 66-69; Serrano y Sanz; Nordenskiöld, 7 and 8, pp. 45-58; Gandía, 2, pp. 25-56 and id., 3, pp. 161-196; Church, pp. 206-227; Mujía; etc.).

/300 cont./

and id., 1, pp. 161-196; Church, pp. 206-227; Mujía; etc.). I shall limit myself to tracing here, in their main lines, the characteristics of the great Guarani migration which ended in the formation of the Chiriguano tribe.

The Chiriguano Indians belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family. A branch separated from the great Guarani nation or, more exactly, a swarm separated from the whole group of tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil called Guarani, they came to establish themselves at the foot of the Andes at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century after crossing the Chaco plains.

/301/ The causes of this great movement, which swept along so many thousands of Guarani toward the frontiers of the Inca Empire, are explained by the singular attraction which metal objects, clothes, in a word everything that can make life easier and more beautiful, exerted and continue to exert on the Indians. The Guarani of Paraguay and the Tupi of the Brazilian coast had known for a long time about Peru and its riches. From there they used to receive bronze instruments and ornaments of silver and sometimes also of gold (1). At the same time as these objects,

1. On the trade relations between the peoples of the Andes and the tribes of the Chaco, Paraguay, and Brazil, cf. Nordenskiöld, 9, pp. 255-259.

confused descriptions reached them of these mountain peoples, so strange, who lived in stone huts, had "deer with long hair" at their service, and who decorated their persons with brilliant jewels. Bronze axes, necklaces, bracelets, breastplates, diadems, and goblets of silver reached them by a trade route whose exact position is unknown, but which probably used to pass through the northern Chaco. The Chané /Chane/ who lived in direct contact with the populations of the Inca Empire and traded with them, played the role of brokers, and with them as middlemen these tools and ornaments reached Paraguay, passing from hand to hand (2).

2. Hernández, p. 322: "They were asked of what race are those who have the silver and the

/375 cont./

Calabashes

415 In each Chiriguano village calabashes are as abundant as pottery (see Fig. 47 /see p. 139 /). The huts are full of them. They are of every shape and size, from the spoons we spoke of to the big basins in which the kāwi is distributed on feast days.

[286] The calabashes which are ovoid or gourd-shaped are generally enveloped in a kind of rudimentary net of vegetable fibers or leather thongs, which allows them to be carried in the hand or hung (1). In them is put either water, or grain

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1. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 97) has given the list of the South American tribes who put their calabashes inside a net to carry or hang them. This contrivance is widespread on the continent and its distribution is certainly greater than that indicated by Nordenskiöld, but travelers generally take only slight interest in such details, which are nevertheless important. The Kaingúa of Paraguay encompass their calabashes with wembé bark just like the Chiriguano (see Ambrosetti, 2, p. 716).

415 and seed, or roasted flour, or finally roucou or kalasapa powder saved for feast days (Plate XX, 1 and 2; Plate XXI, 3 and 4).

[322] Some calabashes are provided with a lid which the Indians make by cutting a calotte with star-shaped edges in the still green fruit, and this then forms a hermetic closing. The lid is fastened on by means of a small cord which, when pulled, suffices to close the calabash /376/ (Plate XX, 4 and Plate XXI, 2). Gourds whose opening is small in diameter receive a fragment of a shelled ear of corn as a stopper. /Figs. 42-47 appear here./

[121] Painted, pyrographed, or incised calabashes will be the object of a special study.

/382 cont./

804 439 [177] The Chiriguano measure the cloth which Syrian peddlers come to offer them with varas, that is, a stick about 80 centimeters long, the length of the ancient Spanish vara. This instrument has been borrowed from the Bolivian half-breeds.

Chapter VI

● 121 ### Art among the Chiriguano and Chané Indians

To Professor Félix F. Outes.

The artistic sense of the Chiriguano is manifested in pottery decoration, pyrography, and wood carving.

We shall study these three activities one after the other.

Pottery Technique

114 323 The Chiriguano pottery technique has been studied briefly by Campana (p. 54), following Father Giannechini's notes, and by Outes (3, pp. 122-123), who adds some details communicated to him by the naturalist Holmberg to the ones he took from Campana's work. Nordenskiöld (1 and 10, pp. 142-147) completed on many points Campana's brief survey, so that I myself shall have few new things to note.

317 323 The clay used by Chiriguano potters comes from beds well known to the Indians, where they go from time to time to lay in fresh supplies. It is enough to see old vessels full of earth around a hut to know that a woman lives there still practicing the ancestral industry. Where adequate clay is [439] lacking, pottery is imported. Thus in the Tigüipa mission all the vessels in use were made in Machareti.

323 In order to be used the clay must be degreased with powder /383/ coming from potsherds. Fragments of old vessels are ground in a mortar until, after being put through a sieve, they give a fine powder which is kneaded for a rather

/398 cont./

175 648 [266] [443]

acted as masters and lords of the land, even to collecting a tax from the Chicha Indians. If they did not agree to this, they ate them and even "had public meat markets for human flesh." /Translated from the Spanish./

175 179 648 [567] [126]

Chicha women certainly shared the fate of the Chané women reduced to slavery by the bellicose Chiriguano and, like them, brought the secrets of their civilization to their masters. On the upper Pilcomayo I acquired a vessel (Plate XXV), a Panpipe (Fig. 67), and a T-shaped ax (Plate XXIII. 1), found not far from the village of Ibopeyti, well within Chiriguano country. These objects reveal either the existence in this place of an ancient Andean population, Chicha or some other one, which the Chiriguano may have annihilated or assimilated, or active commercial exchanges. In the absence of concrete evidence, the influence of the neighboring Andean tribes would have been demonstrated by the very style of the pottery of this region, which more than that of any other point in Chiriguano territory continues a tradition peculiar to the peoples of southern Bolivia.

439 439

Even today the Chiriguano receive from the half-breed descendants of the Chicha silver objects which probably used to be the object of an age-old traffic, and turquoise beads the latter unearth from the /Plate XXV appears here/ /399/ graves of their ancestors. On their part the Chiriguano go to sell ostrich plumes and pieces of basketry to the half-breeds and Quichua Indians.

121 192

Southern Bolivia is very little known from an archeological point of view. The few excavations which have been carried out there testify that the culture peculiar to the Humahuaca valley continues without appreciable modification. The homogeneity of the civilization which flourished in these vast regions will be even more apparent on the day when the decision is made to undertake the systematic study of this immense territory which includes all the altiplano to the north of the Argentinian frontier and the valleys which form the spurs of the Andes at the edge of the Chaco. It is already evident

[Text continues on P. 173]

1: Métraux--180 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Atacama SG5
Prehistoric Chile SG3

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A P.C 19 531

Latcham (p. 5) says that for a long time he has also had the impression that Chincha culture had played a very important role in the development of the prehistoric art of the north and center of Chile, especially in the Diaguito-Chilean region, that is, the provinces of Atacama and Coquimbo, and that these influences had extended as far as Cachapoal in the south.

After the publication of Uhle's work, Latcham (p. 20) not only accepted his conclusions but even demonstrated the extension of Chincha culture as far as Caldera. Like Uhle, Latcham (p. 20) is of the opinion "that an examination of Diaguito-Argentine pottery would furnish proof that the traces of Chincha and Chincha-Atacama influences are very common in the art of northwestern Argentina, where all the designs reproduced (by Latcham) are found again alone or in combinations with other local motifs. These influences made themselves felt as far as the southeast and even the northeast of Bolivia, as can be ascertained by consulting the works dealing with the antiquities of these regions. In the modern pottery of the Chiriguano many of these same elements persist, as one can realize by leafing through the work of Outes, 3."

C [415 531 77]

C 415 77 121

In the pages which follow I shall seek to demonstrate that Chiriguano pottery presents characteristics obliging us to rank it among those which seem to have undergone the influence of the Chincha-Atacama civilization.

A P.C 17 14 21 [648]

Even if the hypothesis of the existence of a Chincha-Atacama civilization must be rejected some day, it is not any less certain that at a given moment the prehistoric tribes of the region of Atacama, of the northern coast of Chile, of the south of Peru and Bolivia, and of the north and northwest of Argentina were united by close relations, which /404/ explain the numerous points of contact of their cultures. Uhle's theory has on its side the advantage of accounting for these analogies whatever may be the reservations we might be able to formulate concerning the date this scholar attributes to the Chincha-Atacama civilization, Concerning the importance and the extent he gives it.

/404 cont./

concerning the importance and the extent he gives it. To the Chincha-Atacama sphere of influence belongs, precisely, the culture of the Andean Chincha and Humahuaca peoples whom the Chiriguano and their Arawak predecessors had as neighbors for centuries.

2. Analysis of the Influences Exerted on the Fancy Pottery of the Chané and the Chiriguano

The criterion of form. -- The influences which have made themselves felt on Chané and Chiriguano pottery are manifested in both form and decoration. In the pages to follow I propose to note the most striking affinities between Chiriguano and Chané vessels and those of the neighboring regions, and also to determine the importance of Guarani or other survivals which we meet here and there.

1. Vessels with a subglobular belly, short neck, flared lips, flattened base, constitute the most common type of fancy pottery (Plates XXXV-XL, XLVII-LIII, etc.). Pottery of this category lacks well-characterized counterparts in the Andean zone. On the contrary, they resemble the jars for kaširi still used by the Indians of Guiana and the Amazon (Koch-Grünberg, 2, Vol. II, Fig. 151, p. 227).

One of the yambuí (Plate XLVIII, 3)[1] of this type has as handles on each side of the neck two little miniature vessels of the same form as itself. In what is perhaps only the fancy of a native artist appears nevertheless a concept peculiar to the Andean peoples and one in harmony with their style.

2. The yapepo (Plate XLV, 1 and 2; LIX and LX)[2] are subglobular vessels with a low neck, provided with a handle which extends from the rim to the belly; they can be considered as yambuí in miniature. This category of vessels has its equivalent in several points of the adjoining Andean zone. Thus in Calama (Atacama Desert) and in Cagua (Yura canton, Porco province) pots have been found which seem to be, from the point of view of form, replicas of Chiriguano yapepo. (Créqui de Montfort, Plate VII, Fig. 8, and Plate VIII, Fig. 11.)

[1] [See p. 221--Analyst]
[2] [See pp. 221, 244 and 245 respectively. Analyst]

/426 cont./

531 Lacking them, the study we have pursued brings us the estab-
171 lishment of a very important fact. The existence on the upper
172 Pilcomayo of a pottery /427/ closely related to that of the
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Fig. 83. Chané vessel. Prov.: Tuyuntí (Aguaray, Salta Chaco). On the belly: series of yakú (pavo del monte) in blackish brown on white background. (1/3 nat. size.)

C
531 Quebrada de Humahuaca is an indication which proves in a sure
171 way that the art of the former inhabitants of these regions was
172 identical to that of their neighbors, and perhaps racial brothers,
105 *of the Bolivian altiplano.*

Apropos of the Chiriguano, I believe it is wrong to speak of
S
12 Andean or Inca culture. The first of these terms is too vague and
531 the second partially false. In this chapter I have tried to demon-
171 strate that Chiriguano pottery exhibits close affinities with that
105 of the civilizations which, by their numerous points of similarity, seem to have undergone a Chincha or Atacama influence and which Preceded Inca Culture.

/473/

Chapter XIII

Toys and Games

524 [126] All the toys which Chiriguano parents make for their children or the latter put together themselves are represented in my collections. Nevertheless, I consider it useless to give a description of them, for Nordenskiöld (2, pp. 193-200) has been greatly /Fig. 133 appears here/ concerned with this and has reproduced all of them. Simply as a curiosity I sketch a doll clothed in the traditional tipoy and the hair of which is intertwined with a ribbon in the Chiriguano manner (Fig. 133). A little bag (Fig. 134) contains a whole assortment of tipoy [868] in miniature. Minuscule vessels and baskets (Fig. 109) have been made for the use of little girls, who, in playing, thus learn little by little to become excellent housewives.

String figures. I have never seen children make string figures (cat-craddle /cat's cradle/), but I know they are acquainted with them. At Cararutí an Indian amused himself by executing a whole series for me, some of which were sewn by the Indians themselves onto the leaves of my notebook. According to the figure they wanted to produce, they used both hands or helped with the mouth and feet (Figs. 135 and 136). The "full moon" (Plate XXXIX, 3) /Fig. 134 appears here/ was made by my Indian who, having sat down, used feet and hands.

524 121 String figures have extraordinary interest from the point of view of comparative ethnography. If they prove themselves identical in two different regions, they can testify to trade or migrations, like certain games which pass from one region to the other without modifying their character or modalities. Games are the most stable of all cultural elements since they are independent of the environment, race, or way of life, at least in general. It is urgent to collect in South America /474/ the greatest possible number of string figures in order to be able to study their distribution. For this continent we know only a very small number, but this, insignificant as it may be, already allows us to establish some very curious facts.

[Text continues on p. 346]

/480 cont./
75 Fig. 16) was present at an analogous treatment also practiced /481/ by a medicine woman on a child at Yumbia, not far from the Salado. She rubbed him and blew on his body (1).

[113] [192]

1. In the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, etc. (p. 72), we find the word hunga translated "to rub, to massage" and the sentence Ñiyari Ñerungarunga tein, irói á Ñe with the following meaning: "My grandmother rubbed me enough, but I did not get well." The medicine women, add the authors of the dictionary, use the word hunga to express the act of rubbing with the hand any painful part of the body, especially the chest, without any remedy other than the saliva they spit on their hand. These women attribute a special virtue to saliva.

[827]

755 The sick boy's father told me that, once suffering from
756 prolonged headaches, he had had recourse to a sorceress, an old woman with woolly hair, who was called the Samba. She sucked the place where the ache was localized and drew out worms from it. The half-breed got well, of course.

757 In the toldería of Ñawirenda, where there was a child ill
[825] with fever, his mother had made him eat crushed garrapatas (ticks). The unfortunate child's lips were purple from it.

756 I shall devote a special study to Chiriguano medicine men
755 in a future volume of this Review. Meanwhile I shall limit
[121] myself to describing, according to the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano (pp. 166-167), the way in which these powerful personages customarily proceed when they are called to the bedside of a sick person. I am forced to have recourse to the observations made by another for lack of having been able to be present myself at the spectacle which Father Giannechini evokes with as much accuracy as vivacity. The great Chiriguano paye are now all in the Ivoka where they take

/xii cont./

arms of the Delegation and the forts, which they know how to burn frequently; the Tapiete continually threaten the farthest outposts and all their personnel, because the cannon and bayonet are powerless to civilize and to implant in the iron breast and crude heart of the savage /xiii/ humanitarian ideas, philanthropical ideas, because the cannon destroys, it does not civilize.

I shall not concern myself with these tribes in the course of my pages; a book could be written about all of them, studying their origin, their customs, their relations with the other tribes and even with the whites, their relations with invisible or imaginary beings, their language and their deeds, but I renounce this arduous task and concentrate upon the Chiriguano race, which was conquered by the missionaries of Tarija long before South American Independence and later by the fellows of the Colegio de Potosí from the year 1870 through a region closed to trade and civilization.

The first thing I shall do in the course of these lines is to set down a description of the Chiriguano region, after which will follow: the origin of the tribe or race, language, statistics, physical and moral character, religion, political organization, the people, customs, imposition of the tembeta /lip plug/ on the males, fasting of the maidens, sicknesses, wars, songs, gatherings, and, finally, death and mourning. I shall try to make this little work pleasant and for that reason I shall allow myself to insert an occasional fable which was formerly held to be a fact and which even today is taken as such in certain regions.

Word to the Reader

This little work, which some will call not only useless but also a waste of effort is now born, but perhaps others who like to study races will find it useful for Ethnography, despite the fact that it is inadequate to give a perfect idea of the race among which I have lived since the year 1893.

Before beginning this third work I have tried to acquire some knowledge. I am not the first to write about these Indians; I have been preceded by D'Orbigny, Pelleschi, /xiv/ Mantegazza,

/xiv cont./

114 the Franciscans Conrado, Cardús, Martarelli, Giannecchini, and Señor del Campano, etc. But in Bolivia no complete work is known, notes or pages by authors definitely worthy of every respect and very competent hardly exist, nor have explorers witnessed all that they have written about, from which have come errors which would certainly have been avoided if the reports had not been made so hastily.

● 121 [124] With all possible calm, patience, and unlimited time, I have set out to talk with the oldest and most knowledgeable Indians, who have explained some points to me, corrected certain others, and made me add still more; but I have already said that with my writing I do not pretend even to equal the luster of those who have preceded me. I shall only give more extension to the ideas which have been set forth by others, ideas which in the majority have been confirmed by the Indians to whom I have addressed myself.

Finally, I must state that since the Chiriguano are in contact with the mission Indians, and these, both old and new, exist in considerable number, I shall add by way of conclusion, after having finished what I have proposed to do, a chapter concerning the heathen Chiriguanos, the neophytes, or new Christians, and the method that the Missionaries use to reduce them religiously and civilly, and the effort required to maintain them in the Catholic faith.

121 128 Everyone will understand that, in order to avoid confusion, this small work will be divided into chapters, and the chapters into sections, for greater clarity and so as not to tire the reader. Certain terms that I must print here by necessity will be written in the Chiriguano language with their corresponding explanation, so that each one may understand the impact of the language. I could also formulate some general propositions with the corresponding Spanish, but the nature of this somewhat voluminous book does not permit it, nor is it necessary, because /xv/ there are various small handbooks which have been printed in this Republic of Bolivia.

/xv cont./

121 Lovers of Ethnography are asked to overlook as much as they can the faults that they will find; rather I pray that they will only note the facts which I set down with all candor and exuberance. With the remarks that precede I am going to begin.

San Buenaventura de Ivo, May 20, 1911.

Father Bernardino de Nino, Missionary, O. F. M.

/Page xvi is omitted in the translation./

/xvii/ Foreword

114 Je prends mon bien partout
où je le trouve.

The Reverend Father de Nino, Franciscan Missionary of the Colegio de Propaganda Fide of Potosí, has honored me by charging me with the presentation to the public of the book which today sees the light, the preparation of which we have already announced in several numbers of the Boletín of the Repartición Nacional under our administration.

A very special reason compelled us to accept such a pleasant task: it provides for us, and for the scientific interest of the country, valuable collaborative material which is brought us by the learned Missionary whose intimate knowledge of the Chiriguano Indians, among whom he has lived as a catechist for many years, is indisputable.

There likewise weighed heavily upon our mind another powerful reason for welcoming the Etnografía Chiriguana with deserved applause: we had in mind the fact that in 1914, by an arrangement arrived at in London at the close of the sessions of the XVIII International Congress of Americanists it was decided that the meeting of the XIX was to be in Washington and this City of La Paz, as was done with the XVII, which held its sessions in commemoration of the Argentinian Centennial of 1810 in Buenos Aires, finishing in Mexico City.

We had to prepare ourselves for the session which was to be /xviii/ held in Bolivia, and this suggested to us the idea that the worthy work of the Reverend Father de Nino might be dedicated

/1/

Chapter One

Description

Introduction

• 121

When an historian or an ethnographer proposes to write the history or ethnography of a tribe or race, he must naturally begin with a description of the region occupied by the human beings who are for a greater or lesser time to occupy the writer's mind. The general description of the region is almost as necessary as the origin of the tribe, but during the course of the undertaking, whether it be large or small, it does not prevent the one who is burdened with the work from letting his preoccupied fantasies go from time to time andscatter hither and yon lilies and fragrant roses, whenever an unexpected opportunity to sketch a delightful panorama, like the one which unfolds before the traveler on the peak of Huacareta Hill and the one from Irenta Hill descending toward Cuevo, might present itself to him.

In my little work "La continuación de la Historia de Misiones del Colegio de Potosí," I said that in order to bring forth a chapter like the present one, one needed time, elucidation, an abundance of material, and tranquility of spirit, things or properties hard to find together in an obscure missionary like the one who is writing.

/2/ Could my readers perhaps believe that my situation could have changed in so short a time? If they do believe this, it is due to the goodness of their hearts, since the situation of he who writes, instead of improving, seems to have become aggravated. Nonetheless, unpretentiously, I am going to concern myself with a description of the Chiriguano region, only because by its nature the work requires it. In my previous one I never foresaw that I should write this third one, which will cost me a little work and time, because, I repeat, in order to write, tranquility is needed, and the Indians, with their continual grievances, do not allow this for a missionary, which leads to the diversity in style, smooth to harsh, lucid to obscure.

/2 cont./

● 121 elegant or labored, natural or stilted, which can be observed in one book by a single author. But the fact is that I can only write it here, since only the Indians are able to smooth out the difficulties which naturally will arise in the course of these pages.

I am familiar with almost the entire region inhabited by the Chiriguano, with the exception of a few small areas, but this is of little importance, as much because they are not of historical importance as because I have obtained data about them which show them to be like the rest. It would even be easy to make a map of the region, but I am embarrassed to say that I am not competent to do this.

General View

133 The region which the Chiriguano Indians occupy today is composed of many little valleys /cañadas/ which run from north to south; they are separated by mountain ridges which vary in size, height, precipitous slopes, deep gorges, and incalculable depths. Its length is quite considerable, while its breadth is not over 180 kilometers. The mountains rise to 3,000 meters and more above sea level, but at that altitude there is no longer any vestige of forest, while at 1,200 meters the woods are exuberant.

In the midst of the valleys low hills cross in every direction, and there are some which from a distance look like larger hills or on their way to becoming such; others are completely isolated and quite small, but they attract the attention of the traveler because of their conical shape, like the traditional "Tunparepoti", located at the beginning of the pampas of Yvu. *There is no hill which does not make room* [262] upon its breast for a multitude of trees of every size and description, like a grove, and /3/ another multitude of vines like the bejuco and low-lying plants of the cactus family, which the Indian uses by eating their fruit, whose combined acridness and sweetness would make them please and be preferred by the most aristocratic lady of the city of Paris.

/63 cont./

439
191 them in the area around the place called Basilio, and they take them in cages to the Argentine Republic.

*136 TOUCAN. -- A very unusual bird because of its long beak, which is almost as long as its body. This beak is yellow, red, and black, but very light; otherwise, since it is so large, it would be difficult to hold up. One who for the *[825] first time sees a toucan, called "Tuca" in Chiriguano, thinks that it is carrying an ear of maize in its beak. Toucans go in large flocks and have their favorite places; I know only [157] one variety of them. It is said that the beak, when ground up *[825] and taken in water, stops the flow of blood. It seems that the toucan only lives in hot climates. If it is taken to other places, it dies.

[931] URRACA /magpie/. -- This flying creature is rather large and abundant. There are several species of them, differentiated by their plumage. It is easily domesticated, and it is useful in the houses, because it kills all of the bugs or insects which multiply in them, but its size is no larger than that of the toucan. It is as restless and noisy in the houses as it is in the woods.

•121 I here put an end to this brief description of the land inhabited by the Chiriguano and what is contained therein. All will understand that I did not attempt to discover and describe minutely each and every one of the plants, each and every one of the quadrupeds, amphibians, and insects, each and every one of the birds, but only those which seemed to me to be of the most importance. If it seems to my readers to be too much, or too little, they will be so kind as to excuse my faults; meanwhile, I am going to begin the real ethography, which will be somewhat long so that it may be clearer and more pleasant. /64/ /Illustration appears here./

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20 centavos the libra, and 25 as well. In the Chaco this is too expensive.

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Chapter Four

Religion, Divinities, and Beliefs of the Chiriguano

/The introduction to this chapter, "An Illustrious Franciscan," pp. 126-127, is omitted in the translation./

/128/

Religion

• 12/ It is beyond any doubt that all peoples profess some religion. This fact is proved by the testimony of all missionaries and confirmed by innumerable travelers of various nationalities and who profess different creeds.

But to the extent that religion implies external demonstrations of veneration, the variety of ways of worship is so great that it may well be stated that every people has its special way, proper and peculiar to it, in which it honors its divinities.

The most advanced peoples display in their respective demonstrations of worship all possible splendor. They have magnificent temples, priests, and a ceremonial which, if it is not always in conformity with the dictates of common sense, does tend, nevertheless, by its nature and form, to awaken in man a sense of veneration and respect for a superior being, represented by something which strikes the senses.

From this point of view it would not be too bold to state that the external worship of peoples in general is in direct proportion to their level of civilization and culture.

This explains why among savage people there can scarcely be discovered a single sign, a ceremony, which might be a sign of external demonstrations of worship. But in reality it does

/128 cont./

• 124 exist, even among savages, since it could be said that, just as there is no people without God, neither is there a people that does not show Him homage in some way.

991 124 As far as the Chiriguano are concerned, I have tried to find out with special care, constancy, and assiduousness what religion they profess and what type of worship they render to their divinities. But all my efforts have been in vain. This is no doubt due to their state of ignorance as a result of their savage life.

[115] I have asked the oldest men of the tribe about their religion, and I have only received vague and insufficient answers on every point, thus being unable to form any idea, even an approximate one, of the religion which they profess. It is beyond doubt true, however, that the Chiriguano have some religion, since they recognize a superior being. They admit the immortality of the soul, rewards and punishments in the other life, and they preserve certain Biblical traditions which would have no explanation if they did not believe in a god and perhaps in the Jehovah of the Holy Bible, or God, Creator of all things (1).

[805] [191] [192]

1. The Chiriguano, like the Hebrews, count the months by moons, and they have other very similar customs. It is very notable that they also have some Hebrew words.

577 991 /129/ The Chiriguano must have a moral code, that is, natural law, perhaps augmented by some traditional precepts, since they admit rewards for the good and punishment for the bad.

The law, to the extent that it is imperative, comes from the same God, but only religion serves as its base, and this teaches men that it is an unavoidable duty to submit to the precepts of the Supreme Legislator, under penalty of falling into grave punishments conceived by Him.

From what has been said, it can be understood as a logical consequence that the Chiriguano do profess some religion, even though this might not be known.

/187 cont./

301 302 (199) buy in the store, so active since the founding of the mission. The Chiriguano with his vigorous head of hair and his red Yapiruana /166/ walks very proudly and shows off both things at feast: in the presence of his companion (1).

(199) (114) (121)

1. An interested party once said that the mission in Yumbis had no purpose because the Indians were civilized. I am sure that this is not true, because the explorer who want to learn the old customs of the Indians can study them better there than anyone else today. There they wear long hair, the tembeta /lip plug/, and balaca, or band, from childhood.

291 294 285 To cover the head they do not all wear a hat. The latter is woven by them themselves with palm leaves. Carandaiti they bring them from the place where they are abundant, Carandaiti, pull out the whitest ones /cogollos/, take them to their houses, then string them one by one on a long cord, which they make of the same palm, tying them to each other. They hang them there and the action of the air whitens them much more. Then they divide each leaf of three or four sheets into leaflets no larger than 2 1/2 centimeters and begin to weave at the crown, where they form a cross with these leaflets, which they then keep weaving, and, at one end, they add another, and when the work reaches the edge or brim, they rack the ends in so that the hat will not come undone, pull strongly, cut off the ends, and a round hat has been finished.

Others form long strands one centimeter wide and sew them to one another with cotton thread, and these hats are imperfect 292 564 cones lined with black or red cloth. They are used by old Indians, those of importance, caciques and sorcerers (?).

291 302 304 176 2. The Cuichua /Quechua/ always with his cap, the Chiriguano is abandoning the custom of long hair, the lip is pierced for the tembeta in few places now, and the straw hat is being

/312 cont./

the race can endure for a longer time. The same is true, if, instead of forts, the Government, at less expense, were to found missions in the places which are being explored at the present time: useful hands would be obtained for commerce and for agriculture, without the destruction of the poor humanity.

I finish by giving thanks to the Divine Providence which has brought about here the civilization of the race, utilizing for this purpose its simple and humble subjects, such as the sons of Francis of Assisi, who came to this New World immediately after it was discovered.

To those readers who have followed me benevolently and to those who have charitably criticized my poor writing, I give my sincere thanks and at the same time pray that they will deign to pardon such errors as they might find. Laus Deo.

End of the Work

/Illustrations appear here./

/313/ Appendix

121 126 The time and place do not now permit me to draw a map of the entire region that I have described in the first chapter of this ethnography; nor do they permit me to write clearly about the other tribes which populate the eastern part of the Bolivian Chaco, which has recently been explored (1).

1. I believed that a map was indispensable for the "Guide to the Chaco." I drew it recently, and it is soon to be published at the expense of the Supreme Government. I may perhaps get an extra run of 1,000 copies for the present work.

Chane SF8
Tapui

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If the Supreme Government and the friends who have helped me in this first edition continue to provide me with their considerable support, I plan to return to the region, to make better studies, to get certain data about the other tribes, to get views and panoramas with photographic cameras, and then bring out a second, more polished edition.

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Since, however, through my nomination as a Corresponding Member of the Geographical Society of this city of La Paz, I am making studies appropriate to this science, I shall set down in these pages the approximate geographical degree occupied by the known tribes which populate the extensive zone of the Bolivian Chaco.

The Chiriguano Indians are numerous from 18° 50' to 22° latitude south of the Paris meridian and from 65° to 66° 50' west longitude. However, small groups can be found at 17° 30' latitude and other groups at 22° 35' toward the south of present-day Yacuiba (2).

2. I follow the Paris meridian in placing the tribes because in the body of the work I have used the same to indicate the location of the Cayuguari Indians.

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/314/ The reader who has accompanied me as far as these lines will have quite a clear idea of the Chiriguano Indians, their language, customs, and beliefs, and consequently I have nothing to add with regard to them, because this would be a repetition of what I have said. I shall say something about the others, so that Bolivians and foreigners may know the Indians with whom they are to deal.

Tapúi or Isoseños

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The Tapúi Indians are as many as 2,000 between children and adults; they occupy both banks of the Parapiti River at 19° and 19° 50' latitude and 62° 30' to 65° longitude from the Paris meridian.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5, (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

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Indians in the years 1908, 1909 and 1913, and spent in all 4 to 5 months studying them. In my book »Indianlif» I gave a popular account of them as I got to know them during the Hennmarck expedition in 1908 and 1909. In my last book of travel »Forskningar och äventyr i Sydamerika» there is some information about the Chiriguano. I have brought home to Sweden from the Chiriguano and Chané about 1500 articles which are now in the Riksmuseum at Stockholm and in the Gothenburg Museum. In the Geographical Review I wrote a short article on the migrations of the Chiriguano Indians.

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A close study of the Chiriguano and Chané civilization by the ethno-geographical method affords points of especial interest, since their mode of life is rather well known, and we are able to trace their history back to the beginning of the 16th century. I have also collected archaeological material from their region. At first I was minded to give an account of this, too, in the present work. I decided, however, that it would be better here only to mention individual finds by the way, and to leave the archaeological material for another publication in which I shall be able also to publish certain archaeological finds made in other parts of Bolivia. This for purely practical reasons.

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I will here endeavour to make clear how the Guarani-speaking Chiriguano's and the Guaranized Chanés' civilization are composed, what culture-elements they have got from the Whites and from the Mountain civilization in the west, what each brought to the common stock and what they possibly obtained from other quarters.

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In this analysis of Chiriguano and Chané manners and customs, I do not intend properly to examine the question as to whence these Indians came to their present abodes. Broadly speaking we know that already. Respecting the Chiriguano migrations there are historical documents extant which evidently show that it was not until the beginning of the 16th century that these Indians conquered

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ScNordenskiöld E-8,4 (1906-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

the tracts they now occupy.[1] [2] They drove out or subjugated the original population, which consisted chiefly of Chané Indians. They made slaves of a great number of them and ravished a great number of women.

The Chané are, as was mentioned, Arawaks and all indications point to their having come from the north or north-east, where they have large numbers of kinsfolk. It will be found that the present investigation confirms this. A matter of particular interest in this connection is to notice how two peoples belonging to the most important groups of tribes in all America made adoptations in their mode of life when they had emigrated to places with strange natural conditions. Again, it is worthy of note how their civilization was transformed und the influence of the Bronze-age civilization in the west and afterwards under the influence of the Whites. Further we shall see what they have, under their new conditions, been able to preserve of their original civilization. We shall gain insight into the way in which the civilization of two Indian tribes was transformed under the influence of other peoples and new natural conditions.

As in Part I, I deal chiefly with the »material» side of these Indians' life. Or rather, everything in their life which

[1] NORDENSKIÖLD (13).

[2] MEANS, basing his opinion on GARCILASSO and MONTESINOS, has assumed that the Chiriguano invaded the Inca Realm earlier than the beginning of the 16th century. But even if his assumption is correct, these inroads led to no domiciliation there. This is evident from the accounts of the invasion in the 16th century, when the Chiriguano supplanted, what was everywhere an original stock. Nor do we know whether by Chiriguano the Incas did not mean barbaric tribes of the Chaco in general, and not any particular tribe. In these parts Chiriguano probably corresponded to the signification that Chunchos had in the district of Cuzco, where it meant all sorts of barbaric Indian tribes east of the Andes. The Chiriguano that GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA AND MONTESINOS speak of need by no means have been Guarani Indians. I have already pointed out (NORDENSKIÖLD 13) that GARCILASSO's description of the Chiriguano is absolutely irresponsible.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,V(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SP10 Chiriguano SP10
Chané SP8

can be kept in a museum or for which one may find — given favourable circumstances — archæological comparative material. Besides weapons, ornaments etc there is thus included also burial customs, tatooing, dancing-masks, etc.

The reader will find that I have endeavoured to make this part more graphic than Part I . From the maps of bibliography it will be seen regarding what regions I have had access to literature; it can also, in some measure, be seen whether the blanks on the maps are due to those particular tribes never having been closely studied.

The maps of distributions in this work are fewer in number than in Part I. This is because we find the Chiriguano and Chané, or one of these tribes, on twenty-nine maps in Part I. Part I is largely preparatory to Part II. Parts I and 2 together contain 45 maps showing the distribution of culture-elements occuring among the Chané and (or) Chiriguano.

All who are interested in the ethnography of S. America will, I venture to think, find the maps worth close study and will see that from them various deductions can be made not only respecting the Chiriguano and Chané Indians but also as to the ethnography of S. America in general. In some measure I have, indeed, endeavoured to do this myself.

The land of the Chiriguano and Chané the Indians streches from near Stª Cruz de la Sierra to near Rio Bermejo. Southwards of Stª Cruz the territory inhabited by the Chiriguano is continuous. The Chané, on the other hand, live in several different quarters, some at the river Itiyuro in the Argentine, some at Caipipendi near the Rio Pilcomayo, some at the Lower Rio Parapiti, and others near Itau south of the Rio Pilcomayo. The neighbours of the Chiriguano and Chané are the Mataco-Vejos, Mestizos, and Whites to the south, the Matacq, Toba, Tapiete, (Yanaygua) and Tsirakua to the east, to the north Mestizos and Whites, and to the west Quichua, Mestizos, and Whites.

SdNordenskiöld E-5,6(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF1

Resumé.

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In the foregoing pages I have attempted to analyse the material culture of the Chiriguano and Chané, and have tried to show from where they have derived the cultural elements existent among them. Finally I will see to what extent conclusions can be drawn from what has been said above, as to the changes the material culture of these Indian tribes has undergone under the influence of an entirely strange culture — that of the Whites — and of a kindred culture — that of the bronze age in the west. Furthermore, we will see what the Chiriguano and Chané have kept of the culture they had before they migrated to the districts they now inhabit, in what measure they have adapted themselves to their new natural surroundings, and what they presumably have learnt from their neighbours the Chorotí, Toba, Mataco and Tapiete.

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I have shown in tabular form the cultural elements the Chiriguano and Chané received from the Whites, those they received from the Mountain culture, and those that derive from the north and the east. This third table embraces such cultural elements as the Chiriguano and Chané took with them when they migrated to their present habitat. In the tables I have mentioned, as the reader will see, in the case of each cultural element whether its distribution in the region examined is favoured by natural surroundings, whether in its distribution it is in general independent of such surroundings, whether it is of great importance in the struggle for existence, whether its manufacture calls for technical skill, whether it is man's or woman's work, whether it is used by men or women or both, or only by children, whether it may be looked upon as still frequently used or as disappearing, and whether it can be regarded as a

Ee 834 171

/225 cont./

Nevertheless, if in the evening one sat beside the fire in the hut and was acquainted with the family, they seemed to be quite free and easy. The Choroti and Ashluslay men are very shameless. The men among the Chané and Chiriguano, on the other hand, less so. It is very common for the Chiriguano and Chané women, conversing in a group, to pass water standing up and to let the urine run down their legs, which may be regarded as less than clean. The men, on the other hand, always step aside in order to relieve themselves.

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Ee 833 171 834

/226/ As has been mentioned, the sexual act among the Ashluslay often takes place in the presence of onlookers. At the Choroti /Fig. 114 appears here/ dances one had to be careful in the darkness not to stumble over the loving couples. One never sees anything like that among the Chiriguano or Chané. Since many /227/ are lying in the same hut, however, one sees even among them what one always sees if one has overnight guests. This is not the least reason why the sexual life has no secrets even for small children.

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Apparently life with the whites heightens the sense of modesty. The Indian women are even embarrassed to expose their breasts. Morality declines in proportion as the sense of modesty grows.

This should be taken into consideration by all those who sew clothing for naked heathen children.

Ee 124

Many of my readers may perhaps feel that this chapter should not have been included in my book. Nevertheless, it seems to me proper to say something about deviations in the sexual sphere. It contributes to an understanding of the people whom I am describing here. I have, of course, not been able to speak about all the realism that came out in the conversations around the camp fire (1).

1. If our daily papers, which are meant for the public, write about all kinds of things, one need not be too prudish in a travel account.

C 114 /2 cont./ outside of the Toba, whom I met only in passing, I got to know on this journey the Chiriguano and the Izozó, who, like the former, speak a dialect of the C Cc [197] Guaraní language; the Tapieté, Churupí, Mataco, and Chorote. All of these Indian tribes are not unknown in ethnological literature. C 175 114 799 On Chiriguano history we are oriented through old documents from even the first years of the Spanish conquest, and we owe to the Franciscan missionaries, who have taught among them for a long time, quite important A 114 101 ethnological publications. The Churupí have been studied minutely under the name Ashluslay by Erland Nordenskiöld, and the Oblates of Immaculate Mary in Esteros and Lake Escalante are striving intensively to make ethnological investigations. C ●121 I have proposed to deal with all of these tribes systematically. This survey will be made on the basis of the results of my journey, and I begin in this first publication with the Chiriguano and Izozó.

General Information

C Cc 114 361 As I said in the introduction to this work, I first met the Chiriguano in Machareti and the Izozó in the area around the fort of Toledo and in the fort "15 de Agosto," several kilometers from the former two.

C 361 [632] [799] Figure 1 A presents a view of Machareti, a Chiriguano town created in its present form by the Franciscan mission. When the Paraguayan army retook Machareti, it had already been abandoned by the Padres, and now a Chiriguano, in the role of commissioner /comisario/, is the chief of the town, there C [342] [363] also being a few caciques. The houses, more or less in the form of modern ranchos (cf. Figs. 14 and 15 /see p.40 /), are on both sides of wide streets which run parallel and at right C [731] angles, as in most of the towns of the former Spanish colonies. When I was present in Machareti, there was great need /3/ among these Indians because of the severe drought which had C [342] ruined their plantings, which were some distance from the town. At the side of the ranchos are often found deposits which 000 were structures of native houses built on sticks. Although

1 A [See P. 8 -- Analyst]

8: Schmidt--6 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4
Chane SF8
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and divides (2) the sum of Chiriguano cultural elements into

2. Nord. 2, pp. 196-213.

different categories depending on whether they received them from the whites, from the culture of the ancient Peruvians, or from the Mataco, Toba, and other tribes of the Chaco, or have them in common with the tribes of the north and the east related to them, as well as those that they brought with them from their primordial homes between the Paraná River and the Paraguay River. In what follows we shall often run into this matter, and inasmuch as these cultural influences have taken place in historical times and we know the history of the Chiriguano through existing documents dating from the first days of the Spanish conquest, I would like to make a resumé of these historical data in what follows, insofar as they have influenced the cultural development of the Chiriguano and Chané.

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In one of my previous publications which appeared in this journal, entitled "Los Guarayú," I ran into the point at issue, to wit: whether the first Guaraní immigration into the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco took place before the expedition of the Portuguese Alejo García to Peru or whether it took place after that time. In that paper I then deduced that it can be supposed that before Alejo García's expedition there were no Guaraní in the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco, because no author mentions that García, who was accompanied by many Guaraní, had met other Guaraní in those regions. With this opinion that the Guaraní immigration to the west occurred after García's expedition, which is based principally on indications by Guzmán, the opinions of Manuel Domínguez and Erland Nordenskiöld also agree. This question of the Guaraní invasion into the western part of the Paraguayan Chaco is also dealt with in detail by Fulgencio R. Moreno in his work Cuestión de límites con Bolivia (3). In that place (4) there

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3. Ministerio de Exteriores. Cuestión de Límites con Bolivia. Negociaciones diplomaticas. 1916-